RESTRICTED

097.3
Z1092
No.2500.13

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

Research and Analysis Branch

R & A No. 2500. 13

GERMAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT OVER EUROPE:

SLOVAKIA

Description

This paper deals with the principles and methods of German control over Slovakia. It describes the German control organs and the manner in which the Slovak state structure and Slovak policies were adapted to the Nazi model.

3 January 1945

RESTRICTED

This study is Part Three, Section Four, IV, of the series

GERMAN MILITARY GOVERNMENT OVER EUROPE

the outline of which is as follows:

Part One. Principles and Methods of German Military Government over Europe

Part Two. German Controls in Occupied Europe

I. The German Army in Occupied Europe
II. The SS and Police in Occupied Europe
III. Military and Police Tribunals in Occupied Europe
IV. The Nazi Party in Occupied Europe
V. Technical and Economic Troops in Occupied Europe
VI. Economic and Financial Controls in Occupied Europe
VII. Labor Controls in Occupied Europe
VIII. Propaganda in Occupied Europe

Part Three. The German Occupation of Individual Regions

Section One. Areas of Military Administration

I. Belgium
II. France
III. Greece

Section Two. Areas of Civil Administration

I. The Netherlands
II. Norway
III. Ostland and the Ukraine

Section Three. Appended Territories (Nebenländer)

I. The Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia
II. The General Government

Section Four. Satellite States

I. Albania
II. Denmark
III. Italy
*IV. Slovakia
V. Yugoslavia

Section Five. Annexed Territories

I. Alsace, Lorraine, Luxemburg, Eupen, Malmédy, and Moresnet
II. The Polish Borderlands

SLOVAKIA

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
A. Introduction	1
1. Historical Background	1
2. The Treaty of 23 March 1939	4
3. The Position of Slovakia in the German Sphere of Interest	4
B. German Military and Political Controls	6
1. The Army	6
2. The Führer	7
3. The German Foreign Minister and the German Legation	7
4. German Technical Advisors to the Slovak Ministries	8
C. German Economic Controls over Slovakia	9
1. The Jurisdiction of German Cartels	9
2. German Ownership of Slovak Economic Enterprises	9
3. The Deutsch-Slovakische Handelskanzlei	10
D. The Nazi Party and the Volksgruppe	11
1. The Foreign Organization of the NSDAP	11
2. The Volksgruppe in Slovakia	11
E. The Adaptation of the Slovak State Structure to the Totalitarian Model	14
1. The Creation of the One-Party State	14
a. The Hlinka Slovak People's Party (Hlinkova Slovenska Ludova Strana--HSLS)	14
b. The Hlinka Guard (Hlinkova Garda--HG)	16
c. The Hlinka Youth (Hlinkova Mladez--HM)	17
2. The State Administration	18
a. The President	18
b. The Cabinet	18
c. Central Offices	19
d. The State Council	20
e. The Supreme Defense Council	20
f. The Parliament	20
g. Local Administration	21
3. Organs of Economic Control	21
a. The Ministry of Economics	21
b. The Supreme Supply Office	21
c. The Corporative Organization of Slovak Economy	22
4. Control of Labor	22

TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued)

	Page
F. The Adaptation of Slovak Policies to the German Model	24
1. Military and Pre-military Service	24
a. Military Service	24
b. The Slovak Labor Service	24
2. Slovak Propaganda, Education, and Culture	25
3. The Treatment of Jews	26
4. Slovakia's Foreign Policies	27
5. Slovakia's Economic Policies	29
G. The Tightening of German Control	30
Appendix I. The Slovak-German Treaty of 23 March 1939	33
Appendix II. German and Slovak Government, Military, and Party Leaders	34

IV. SLOVAKIA

A. INTRODUCTION

1. Historical Background

Slovakia, until World War I, was a province of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. In 1918 it became a part of the Czechoslovak Republic. It comprised a territory of about 15,000 square miles and had 3,300,000 inhabitants, among whom were about 600,000 Hungarians and 150,000 Germans. Consisting largely of mountainous and wooded regions, Slovakia was predominantly an agricultural country, in contrast to the preponderantly industrial western provinces. The Slovak people, unlike the Czechs, were almost exclusively devout Catholics.

Almost from the very beginning of the existence of the Czechoslovak state certain political elements in Slovakia, discontented over the leading role assumed by the Czechs both in the central government and in the provincial administration, began agitating for Slovak autonomy. The leader of the movement was Andrej Hlinka, a priest who had distinguished himself in the fight for Slovakia's freedom even before 1918. Around Hlinka gathered a number of young Slovaks who were genuinely interested in obtaining some sort of self-administration for Slovakia within the Czechoslovak state. But a number of scheming politicians, such as Vojtech Tuka and Francis Jehlicka, also joined this group. Some of them were in the pay of foreign powers and intended to use the autonomist movement to advance their own aims, namely, their personal aggrandizement under the aegis of the foreign power in whose service they were.

The autonomist group formed a political party, known as the Slovak People's Party. They used the religious, economic, social, and cultural differences between the Czech

and the Slovak peoples as the basis of their agitations. They gained considerable popular support and obtained 30 percent of the total Slovak votes in 1935. But they were never influential enough to muster the majority of votes and to attempt a coup against the central government. The necessary impetus for action was given to the Slovak autonomists in 1938 at the time of the Munich agreement. While the central government was off balance following the loss of prestige that accompanied the cession of the Sudetenland to the Reich the representatives of all political parties in Slovakia, except the Communists and Social Democrats, convened at Zilina and on 6 October issued a manifesto declaring Slovakia's autonomy within the Czechoslovak state.1/ During subsequent

---

1/ The proportionate strength of the various political parties in Slovakia on the basis of the 1935 election returns was as follows:

Government bloc		
Agrarian Party	286,739 votes	17 percent of the total
Social Democratic Party	184,389 votes	11 percent of the total
Socialist National Benes Party	51,930 votes	3 percent of the total
Opposition parties		
Slovak Autonomist Bloc (including the Slovak People's Party and the Slovak National Party)	489,641 votes	30 percent of the total
Hungarian and German Minority Bloc	230,713 votes	14 percent of the total
Sudeten German Party (in Slovakia called Carpathian German Party)	27,558 votes	2 percent of the total
Communist Party (dissolved in 1938)	210,785 votes	13 percent of the total

months a decentralization of the state administration was undertaken. A provincial government exercising executive power in all fields of administration was set up in Slovakia. It had five members who were appointed by the state president. A Slovak parliament was also elected. But legislative powers remained largely in the hands of the central government in Prague. To give outward appearance to the change in the state structure the hyphenated name of Czecho-Slovakia was adopted.

This arrangement did not prove to be a stable one. The implementation of the proposed measures of decentralization was hampered by the events that took place in November 1938. At that time, as a result of the Vienna award (2 November 1938) Slovakia lost about three thousand square miles of territory and eight hundred thousand inhabitants to Hungary. Moreover radical elements in Slovakia were not satisfied with the existing measure of self-administration and wanted complete independence. Their aims coincided with those of the Reich leaders, who were opposed to the existence of even a weakened Czechoslovak state in the center of Europe. The political situation, which remained tense throughout the winter, worsened considerably in March 1939. German agents approached Karol Sidor, a leading Slovak politician who had been close to Hlinka, and who commanded considerable popular support, and proposed that he create an independent Slovak state under German protection. Sidor allegedly refused and on 10 March, in a last attempt to save the unity of the state, was appointed by the President of the Czecho-Slovak state to succeed Tiso as Slovakia's Premier. Thereupon the Germans approached Tiso and threatened to invade Slovakia unless he complied with their wishes. Tiso saw the Führer in Berlin on 13 March and, upon his

return to Bratislava the next day, submitted the declaration of independence to the Slovak Parliament, which, allegedly after a stormy session, ratified it. The "independent" Slovak state was thus born.

2. The Treaty of 23 March 1939

Two days after the declaration of Slovakia's independence Monsignor Jozef Tiso, its President, requested the Führer to assume the protection of the new state. The Führer "consented" to fulfill Tiso's request, and a formal treaty to that effect was concluded in Berlin on 23 March 1939. According to the treaty the Reich undertook to guarantee Slovakia's political independence. In order to achieve this aim a military zone in western Slovakia was designated to be occupied by the Wehrmacht; the Slovak Army was to be organized in accordance with the German; and the foreign policy of Slovakia was to adhere strictly to the Reich's.1/ This treaty was the cornerstone of German-Slovak relations and was at the same time the basis of German control over Slovakia.

3. The Position of Slovakia in the German Sphere of Interest

According to the plans of the Nazis Slovakia was to become the model satellite of the New Order. To all outward appearances it was accorded the status of a sovereign state. No formal German control organs were set up within the country, and the Slovak Government held all the executive, legislative, and administrative power. It maintained diplomatic relations with other European countries. Negotiations between the Reich and Slovakia were completed in treaty form. But actually Slovakia was as much a German protectorate as were Bohemia and Moravia. Only the methods

---

1/ RGBl., 1939, II, 606. For a full text of the treaty see Appendix I.

of control were different.

German control over Slovakia was maintained through the use of diplomatic and economic pressure; through the intermediary of the Volksgruppe (German ethnic group) in Slovakia; through pro-Nazi elements within the Slovak government; and through the adaptation of the Slovak state structure to the model of the German corporative state. This type of remote control was duplicated also in other European countries such as Denmark and Croatia. The reasons for its use in Slovakia were (1) the aim of the Germans to carry out the "divide and conquer" policy to the hilt, and thus to deepen the schism between the Czech and the Slovak peoples by a difference in treatment, and (2) the belief of the Germans that Slovakia was so powerless politically and militarily and so much dependent on the Reich in the economic field that it could be kept in line without setting up an elaborate control system within the country.

B. GERMAN MILITARY AND POLITICAL CONTROLS

1. The Army

According to the Treaty of 23 March 1939, the Wehrmacht occupied a "protected zone" in Western Slovakia. The commander of the zone was General Barlen. Within the limits of the "protected zone" the Wehrmacht exercised supreme military authority. It was entitled to erect military installations and to obtain the necessary land for these from the Slovak Government. German civilians employed by the Wehrmacht came under the jurisdiction of German courts. The supplies for German military forces in this zone were brought in duty-free from the Reich. But the number of German troops garrisoned in Slovakia was very small, and the influence exerted by them on Slovak internal developments was negligible. They did not assume functions of civil administration.

The strongest influence of the Wehrmacht was directed towards the Nazification of the Slovak Army. The German-Slovak Treaty of 23 March 1939 specified that the Slovak Army was to be organized and trained along the same lines as the German. To insure the proper implementation of this provision a German military mission was sent to Slovakia to serve in an advisory capacity to the Ministry of National Defense. The mission was headed by General Schlieper until July 1944 and later by General der Panzertruppen Alfred von Hubitzki. It supervised the organization and the training of the Slovak forces, and for this purpose operated through a large number of German officers who headed the various Slovak training and combat units. The infiltration of German officer personnel was facilitated by the lack of available trained Slovak officers and non-coms. A German air mission under Lieutenant General Keipen controlled several air fields in Slovakia and supervised the organization

of the Slovak air force.

Although German personnel penetrated and imposed Nazi methods on the Slovak Army, the Wehrmacht failed in its attempt to re-educate it and was forced in September 1944 to undertake the total occupation of Slovakia in order to quell a revolt in which the entire Slovak Army, with the exception of one garrison, participated.1/

2. The Führer

Berlin directed the internal and foreign policy of the Slovak Government by a variety of means. On the most important matters of policy the Führer himself summoned the Slovak leaders. The outstanding instances of such summonses were the two visits of Vojtech Tuka, Slovakia's Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the Führer in April and November 1940. As a result of these visits the tempo of the Nazification of Slovak public life was quickened.2/ In the spring of 1944 President Jozef Tiso and Minister of National Defense Ferdinand Catlos visited Hitler in connection with the growing seriousness of the military situation at the Slovak border.

3. The German Foreign Minister and the German Legation

In a manner similar to the Führer's, the German Minister of Foreign Affairs set the course of Slovakia's foreign policy. It was under his pressure that Slovakia adhered to the Anti-Comintern Pact in 1941.

The implementation of government policy as agreed on by the state leaders was supervised by a number of German agencies. The most important organ of control was the German diplomatic representation in Slovakia. The legation in Bratislava was headed by three envoys in succession -- Hans Bernard, Manfred von Killinger, and, since 1941, SA Obergruppenführer Hans E. Ludin, notorious Nazi and

---

1/ See below, G.
2/ See below, E1,a.

old Party member. The legation kept constant vigil over the activities of the Slovak Government through a large staff of attachés including Gestapo agents and technical experts.

The legation was aided in its task by regional representatives, especially the consulate located in Presov (Preschau), and by the Volksgruppe, with which it maintained close contact.1/

4. German Technical Advisers to the Slovak Ministries

In addition to the diplomatic representation, German technical experts were assigned to the various Slovak ministries as special advisers. The advisers were officially designated to aid the inexperienced Slovak officials in the organization of the various fields of administration, but by virtue of their assignment they were instrumental in the formulation of government policy and served as an effective means of control of government institutions. Similar advisers operated in many of the Slovak public and private institutions. Their function was to help in the organization of these institutions according to the Nazi model. Thus German advisers assisted in the establishment of the Slovak Labor Service and in the military and ideological training of the Hlinka Guard.2/

1/ See below, D2.
2/ See below, E1,b.

C. GERMAN ECONOMIC CONTROLS OVER SLOVAKIA

German control over Slovakia's economic life was maintained through (1) the extension of the jurisdiction of German cartels over Slovak industries, (2) the ownership of the more important Slovak industrial, commercial, and financial enterprises by Germans, and (3) the establishment of close trade relations which were favorable to Germany.

1. The Jurisdiction of German Cartels

The Germans did not maintain a formal economic control agency in Slovakia. They controlled Slovak economic development largely through the special advisers assigned to the ministries. From time to time special German commissions went to study certain aspects of the economic life and to make "recommendations" as to necessary improvements. The various German cartels, for example, cement, and glass, had jurisdiction over the corresponding Slovak industries. Their regulations were, of course, binding on Slovak concerns, and were enforced by liaison officers stationed in Bratislava.

2. German Ownership of Slovak Economic Enterprises

A means much more effective than government control was the ownership of the more important industrial, commercial, and financial enterprises by German government or private corporations. Many of the Slovak economic installations were in Czech hands before 1938; thus when the Germans occupied Bohemia and Moravia and took over the larger enterprises there, they also acquired control over the Slovak branches of these. Thus the Hermann Göring Werke owned the Slovak armament plants at Považská Bystrica, Podbrezova, and Dubnica, and it controlled Mautner Textile Works (which were in part transformed to the manufacture of war materials), the Ruda AG, the Krompachy Copper Works, and the Danube Navigation Company, the country's largest

transportation firm, and the Slovakische Omnipol A.G., the largest import-export company. This last organization was concerned with the import of raw materials and export of finished products. It was so powerful that all trade between Slovakia and Rumania had to be carried out through it. The IG Farben, another German concern, controlled the two largest Slovak chemical plants -- the Dynamit Nobel and the Appolo Refinery. The Deutsche Erdöl AG furthermore obtained a ten-year lease on the oil fields at Gbely. Other German concerns had heavy interests in the Slovak glass, wood, paper, textile, and food industries.

3. The Deutsch-Slovakische Handelskanzlei

As an instrument to supervise the proper implementation of German-Slovak trade agreements 1/ a new type of office was established in Slovakia under the name of Deutsch-Slovakische Handelskanzlei. The office was set up in the form of a limited liability company, designed to advise German and Slovak exporters on the fluctuation of the market and technical details, such as the question of contracts. But the company's membership was composed of representatives of the Slovak Industrial Association, the Reichsgruppe Industrie, the Deutsche Wirtschaftsgruppe Gross-, Ein-, und Aussenhandel, and the Reich Ministry of Economics. Thus by handling most if not all of the contracts between Reich and Slovak firms this office essentially functioned as a supervisory organ.

1/ See below, F5.

D. THE NAZI PARTY AND THE VOLKSGRUPPE

1. The Foreign Organization of the NSDAP

The foreign organization of the NSDAP was active in Slovakia, clandestinely, of course, before 1938. It was instrumental in the preparation of the Slovak secession from Czechoslovakia. After 1939 the Party organization operated in the open: it served as a control organ of Reich Germans in Slovakia and helped to organize the Volksgruppe.1/ The importance which was attributed to the work of the Party organization was best demonstrated by the fact that, despite the small number of Reich Germans in Slovakia, the organization was accorded the status of a Landesgruppe in 1941. It was led by Kurt Rudershausen.

2. The Volksgruppe in Slovakia

The German ethnic group in Slovakia comprised about 150,000 persons. They were concentrated in three regions: around Bratislava, around Kezmarok (in Central Slovakia), and in the Spis region (in Northern Slovakia). They constituted the majority of the population only in a very few localities. The large majority of the Germans were not politically conscious and did not strive for political privileges. Only a handful belonged to Henlein's Sudetendeutsche Partei, and were willing to follow and support the Reich leaders. The most important German leader in Slovakia was an engineer, Franz Karmasin, who played an outstanding role in the spring of 1939 by mediating between the Reich leaders and Tiso, and who later became the titular head of the Volksgruppe and held the position of Secretary of State in the Slovak Government.

The German ethnic group in Slovakia was the first to obtain the special privileges which belonged to it

---

1/ See below, D2.

according to the Nazi's concept of national minorities. It became a special unit within the state, supervised by its own secretariat of state which was established in 1939, with Karmasin as Secretary of State. All laws pertaining to Germans passed through him. By virtue of his privileged position Karmasin exercised a strong influence on the Slovak Government and also had a hand in drafting laws applying to Slovaks only.

Under the Secretary of State the Germans formed a closed community which had special privileges in the political, economic, and cultural fields. The Germans had their own economic control office, called the Central Office for Economics. Under it operated a compulsory labor organization for Germans only and various offices for the control of industry, trade, and agriculture. They had a separate welfare organization and their own schools, whose number was entirely out of proportion to the size of the Volksgruppe. In every locality with more than twenty German students a German language school could be requested. German school children under the supervision of German instructors received pre-military training separately from the Slovaks. But the Germans were compelled at first to serve in the Slovak Army and only volunteers were accepted in the Waffen-SS. In June 1944, however, a German-Slovak agreement was concluded whereby all Germans, even those who were at that time in the Slovak Army, were liable to service in the Waffen-SS.

The political organization of the Volksgruppe was the Deutsche Partei, which, aside from the Slovak People's Party (HSLS), was the only authorized political party in the country. The Deutsche Partei was organized functionally and regionally along the pattern of the NSDAP. It had a number of affiliated organizations, such as the

FS (Freiwillige Schutzstaffel), the Deutsche Jugend, the Einsatztruppe, the Frauenschaft, and the Studentenschaft. It published a newspaper, the Grenzbote.

The FS was an organization similar to the SA in the Reich. It was responsible for the training of manpower, and from its membership were to come the future leaders of the Volksgruppe. The Einsatztruppe was the military branch of the Party. Its functions were those performed by the SS in the Reich. The Deutsche Jugend comprised all German children between the ages of six and eighteen. It was based on the same principles as the Hitler Youth and co-operated closely with it.

The goal assigned to the German ethnic group was that of becoming the main agent in the introduction of National Socialism in Slovakia. But the majority of the Germans in Slovakia were not enthusiastic about this task. They performed their obligations toward the Reich only reluctantly. But, by virtue of their privileged position in the state, they aroused the distrust and hostility of the Slovak people. Friction between Slovaks and Germans increased constantly, and even the Government attempted to obstruct the German plans for consolidating their position in the state by keeping them out of the administration. The hatred for the Germans reached such proportions that, following the uprising in September 1944, all Germans were compulsorily organized into a Home Guard (Heimatschutz) for the protection of German property and lives. All men between sixteen and fifty were to serve in the Home Guard, under the leadership of Party men. But even in this emergency some Germans refused to associate themselves with the Party. Thus, due in part to the reluctance of the Germans and in part to the hostility of the Slovaks, the Volksgruppe did not achieve the task for which it was groomed.

E. THE ADAPTATION OF THE SLOVAK STATE STRUCTURE TO THE TOTALITARIAN MODEL

To facilitate German control over Slovakia, the structure of the state was adapted to the Nazi pattern. The organization of controls in the political, economic, cultural, and military fields was adjusted to conform to that of the Reich. But totalitarian measures and the forcible Nazification of the country met with the opposition of the majority of the people. Moreover, the existing political forces in Slovakia were unprepared for the task that faced them. For these reasons the introduction of National Socialist measures progressed slowly and only under strong German pressure. Even after their introduction the implementation of totalitarian measures was delayed and impeded by government officials, with the result that in most instances they were carried out imperfectly.

1. The Creation of the One-Party State

In accordance with the principles of National Socialism all but one of the Slovak political parties were abolished. Only the Slovak People's Party, which was re-named Hlinka's Slovak People's Party (Hlinkova Slovenska Ludova Strana--HSLS), remained. In addition the two largest national minorities, the German and the Hungarian, were authorized to organize an official political party.

a. The Hlinka Slovak People's Party (Hlinkova Slovenska Ludova Strana--HSLS)

The Slovak Constitution, ratified on 29 July 1939, established the supremacy of the HSLS in the state. The HSLS, like the NSDAP in the Reich, was to assume the leading role in the political life of the country. But in 1939 the HSLS was just another Czechoslovak political party, operating largely upon democratic principles. Its organization

was thus not suited for the task which it was to perform, and the principles of National Socialism which were to be introduced in the Party, and through it into the state, were strange and often contrary to the beliefs of the majority of the Party members. In the HSLS itself were represented the more moderate elements of the autonomist movement. Led by Msgr. Jozef Tiso, the majority of the Party members aimed at establishing a Christian nationalist state. Due to the lack of enthusiasm for National Socialism and the inadequacy of the Party organization, the HSLS did not fulfill the functions assigned to it. Finally, on 22 October 1942, a decree of the state president introduced the leadership principle into the HSLS. This step was taken in part to satisfy the Germans, who had grown increasingly critical of the ineffectiveness of the HSLS, and in part to end the internal strife which seethed between the HSLS leaders and the leaders of its military branch, the Hlinka Guard.

The organization of the HSLS was changed according to the pattern set by the NSDAP. The chairman of the Party, Jozef Tiso, received the title of Vodca (Führer) and became supreme commander of the HSLS as well as of its two affiliated organizations, the HG and the Hlinka Youth (Hlinkova Mladez--HM). The Vodca had the power of issuing directives with the force of law. The Vodca also appointed and dismissed the regional and district leaders of the Party. Under him was the Party executive committee (presidium), which consisted of six members including the Vodca and the general secretary of the Party. The next most powerful member of the Party was the secretary general, who acted as the executive organ of the Party presidium. The regional, district, and local organizations of the Party were headed by one

chairman who represented the Vodca, and a council, consisting of from six to twelve members, which functioned in an advisory capacity. The functional organization of the HSLS also resembled that of the NSDAP. The Party had cultural, social, finance, and economic offices. It had a women's organization and also maintained a social welfare office, similar to the German NSV. The official organ of the party was the daily Slovak and later the Gardista.

Following its internal reorganization, the HSLS began to assume an increasingly important position in the state. The first aim was to indoctrinate its own membership. For this purpose a training program was set up similar to the system of indoctrination courses introduced by the NSDAP. Simultaneously the Party was designated as the censor of all political and cultural activities in the state. The local organization of the Party was to choose from among the members the candidates for public office. Thus it was hoped that gradually all public officials would be replaced by Party members and that the Party would have complete control of the state administration. All radio and film productions had to be approved by the Party. Finally, only Party members could hold posts in professional organizations.

b. The Hlinka Guard (Hlinkova Garda -- HG)

The HG was the military arm of the HSLS; it represented the strongest pro-Nazi faction in Slovakia and had 56,000 members. Its commander in chief, Sano Mach, was one of the most ardent admirers of Hitlerism. He was a disciple of Tuka, himself reputed among many as the basest character in Slovak politics. It was organized along lines similar to the SS. The organization paper, Nas Boj, often disagreed with the official Party paper, Slovak. Within its ranks

the HG organized storm troopers, who were trained under the supervision of SA officers. In 1942 there were 4,200 such trained storm troopers, many of whom saw service on the Eastern Front.

During the period preceding the declaration of Slovak independence its members operated as political terrorists and strong-arm men. After 1939 the HG leadership assumed that it would become the leading political factor in the state. The Mach-Tuka clique was in open controversy with the Party leadership, and with the support of the Germans threatened to gain the upper hand. Mach's position was weakened when Tiso became commander in chief of the HG as well and could overrule him. Nevertheless the HG remained a political force of considerable importance.

The main function of the HG after 1942 was to serve as the political police of the Party. It was considered as the elite of the HSLS and was to educate the future Party leaders. Rather belatedly, in the spring of 1944 the HG set up an extensive program of leadership training. Two kinds of permanent schools were established; on the national level, a school in which future officers received instruction; on the district level, schools for the training of non-commissioned officers. The first officers were graduated in June 1944. In the fall of 1944 the HG really came into its own. As a result of the Slovak uprising it remained the only military force at the disposition of the Government. Early in September Ottomar Kubala was appointed commander and the entire organization was placed under the jurisdiction of the Minister of National Defense.

c. The Hlinka Youth (Hlinkova Mladez--HM)

The HM was comparable to the Hitler Youth in Germany, but unlike the latter it never became compulsory and did

not wield as much influence and power over the youth. Nevertheless it was organized along the pattern of the Hitler Youth, and its leaders, both adults and children, were frequently invited to the Reich for indoctrination courses. Its commander was Alois Macek.

2. The State Administration

The Slovak state administration was set up essentially along parliamentary lines by the Constitution. It was headed by a president elected by Parliament for seven years. The cabinet included eight ministers, a State Council, composed of twenty-six members, and a parliament with eighty members. The parliamentary representatives were elected for five years. But under German pressure the state administration became increasingly more autocratic. The functions of parliament and the State Council became more and more nominal, and power was concentrated in the hands of the president and the individual ministers.

a. The President

By virtue of the powers assigned to him by the constitution as the head of state and supreme commander of the army, and his position as the Vodca of the Party, the President of the Slovak Republic held powers similar to those of the Führer. He could not be held responsible for his actions. He could be impeached only on the charge of treason. He appointed the members of the cabinet, high military and government officials, heads of the compulsory professional organizations, and the heads of the regional units of the Party. The position was held continuously by Msgr. Jozef Tiso.

b. The Cabinet

The posts of the eight ministers included in the cabinet were established by decree of 15 March 1939.

The cabinet served with minor changes until September 1944, when, as a result of the uprising, several of its members were dismissed and some functional reorganization took place. The most important cabinet post, that of the Prime Minister, until September 1944 was held by Vojtech Tuka, who was at the same time Minister of Foreign Affairs. Under him were a variety of officers controlling several phases of public life such as the Central Economic Office, which was charged with the implementation and supervision of anti-Jewish legislation, and the Propaganda Office. The next most important post was that of the Minister of the Interior, held by Sano Mach, Tuka's disciple and with him the strongest exponent of Nazism in Slovakia. Under his jurisdiction were the local administration, the security service, and the Hlinka Guard. In September 1944 his jurisdiction over the security service and the Hlinka Guard was transferred to the Minister of National Defense until September 1944. The latter post was held by General Ferdinand Catlos, a former Czechoslovak officer who was among the cabinet members dismissed because of suspicion of involvement in the uprising.

c. Central Offices

In addition to the cabinet two central offices with ministerial powers were established. The first was the Propaganda Office, headed by Tido Gaspar, one of the more ardent pro-Nazis in Slovakia. Gaspar was entitled to attend cabinet meetings although he did not have the title of Minister. The second new central office was the Supreme Supply Office. Established in 1942 and headed until September 1944 by Imrich Karvas, it was one of the more powerful government offices. Its head could also attend cabinet meetings and could issue directives having the force

of law. He shared with the Minister of Economics the control over all Slovak economic matters and over labor.

d. The State Council

The State Council consisted originally of twenty-six members appointed for three years, and was to serve in an advisory capacity to the president on judicial matters. It was also to introduce bills in the parliament and was to draw up the list of candidates for election to parliament. In August 1943 the number of its members was reduced to twelve and its functions limited to purely advisory matters.

e. The Supreme Defense Council

This body was created in November 1944, as a result of the Slovak uprising. It included five members appointed by the president and functioned in an advisory capacity to him.

f. The Parliament

Originally the parliament was set up as the legislative body with exclusive power to issue laws in Slovakia. But from the very outset it was composed of reliable Party men and not of people's representatives. Thus the parliament followed the instruction and wishes of the president and ministers faithfully. Nevertheless, it did issue all the Slovak laws. In the fall of 1944, however, the ministers were authorized to issue decree-laws without consulting the parliament, thereby rendering the existence of the latter body entirely superfluous.

Following the pattern set by the Reich, higher government positions were from the very beginning held by reliable Party men, and thus proper co-ordination between Party and state was obtained. On the lower levels of administration the infiltration of Party members was much slower and did not pick up until 1944.

g. Local Administration

Slovakia was divided into six **zupy** (counties), which were subdivided into sixty **okresy** (districts). Between 1939 and 1943 government commissioners appointed by the Minister of the Interior gradually replaced the elected heads of the local district and county administrative offices. The commissioners held the actual power but operated with the aid of advisory councils still elected by the people. The law introducing the leadership principle in the HSLS specified that the Party should, by nominating from among its ranks the members of the local district or county council, control the state administration on the lower levels. The implementation of this measure was delayed until the spring of 1944, when municipal elections were held.

3. Organs of Economic Control

The methods of economic control in Slovakia were patterned after the Reich. Supreme control rested with the Ministry of Economics and the Supreme Supply Office.

a. The Ministry of Economics

The Ministry of Economics was in charge of all administrative matters and exercised supervision over the compulsory corporative organizations of industry, trade, and agriculture. The Minister, Gejza Medricky, appointed the heads of the compulsory organizations.

b. The Supreme Supply Office

This offict was created by law in 1942. It took over the functions that were until then performed, unsatisfactorily, by a variety of corporative associations, such as the Central Labor Office, the Supreme Price Office, and others. Imrich Karvas, the governor of the Slovak National Bank, was appointed head of the office. He could issue executive orders with the validity of law. The Supreme Supply Office actually became the most important control organ of

economy and labor. It was in charge of the allocation, distribution, and production of industrial as well as agricultural goods, and it controlled rationing and the labor market.

c. The Corporative Organization of Slovak Economy

Under the two above-mentioned government agencies Slovak industry, trade, commerce, and agriculture were organized into compulsory associations according to the German model. The compulsory associations, however, did not possess any power and served more or less as the executive organs of the Supreme Supply Office. The more important compulsory associations were the Association of Industrialists, the Timber Association, and the Chamber of Agriculture with its incorporated associations, such as the Dairy Association, the Agricultural Co-operatives, and the Cereal Company.

4. Control of Labor

Labor conditions in Slovakia were gradually adjusted to the Reich. State control was exercised by the Supreme Supply Office, which controlled the state Labor Offices, determined wages, and set the conditions for labor. Under the auspices of this office such typically German measures as the work book were introduced. Working hours were extended, and in the summer of 1944 a total mobilization similar to the German was ordered.

Along the model of the German Labor Front a Slovak Workers' Front was established in 1942. It imitated its German counterpart even so far as to establish a Strength through Joy (Radost z Prace) movement. The Workers' Front functioned as a corporative organization, headed by Aladar Kočis, general secretary of the HSLS, who was appointed by the Vodca and was responsible to him. Under the roof organization were four associations:

a. The Association of Agricultural Employees

b. The Association of Employees of Industry, Commerce, and Finance

c. The Association of Free Professions

d. The Association of State Employees

The various associations were further subdivided into functional branches. All employed Slovaks, even university students with the exception of Jews, had to belong to one of these associations.

F. THE ADAPTATION OF SLOVAK POLICIES TO THE GERMAN MODEL

1. Military and Pre-military Service

a. Military Service

Compulsory military service for all men between the ages of twenty and fifty was introduced by decree on 29 February 1940 upon the suggestion of General Catlos. The decree specified that all Slovak citizens and persons whose citizenship could not be determined but who resided in Slovak territory were liable to twenty-four months of military service. All "asocial" elements, that is, Jews, gypsies, and criminals were to perform labor duty under the supervision of the Minister of National Defense instead of serving in the army. At the same time pre- and post-military training for men between seventeen and fifty was ordered. In 1943 compulsory pre-military training for school children was introduced. This training program was carried out under the joint jurisdiction of the Ministers of Defense and Education. Later in 1943 the draft age was lowered to nineteen.

b. The Slovak Labor Service

In 1942 a Slovak Labor Service was set up along the model of the Reichsarbeitsdienst. Preparations for it had been under way since 1941, when a number of prospective leaders went to the Reich to study the methods of organization. The actual organization of the Slovak Labor Service took place under the constant supervision of Oberarbeitsführer Prager. The law introducing labor service was passed on 12 March 1942. It stated that all Slovak youths must perform six months of labor service between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. As in the Reich, this training was considered preliminary to induction in the army. On 1 October 1942 the first one thousand young men were called up by Alois Macek, the leader of the Labor Service, and since then many thousand

others have passed through its ranks.

2. Slovak Propaganda, Education, and Culture

In the field of propaganda German methods were employed. All propaganda was directed by Tido Gaspar, head of the Propaganda Office. The efforts of Slovak propaganda were concentrated on four main topics: (a) the Czechs, both those remaining in the country and in exile, (b) the Jews, (c) the Communists, and (d) the Hungarians. Inasmuch as the radio was in the hands of the state even before 1938, no elaborate structural reorganization was necessary. A state company, "Slovensky Rozhlas," was founded. Adapting the German scheme, the Slovak radio brought weekly topical commentaries which were prepared and most often also read by Konstantin Culen, who became the Slovak radio's Dittmar or Fritzsche. The Slovak motion picture industry, unimportant to be sure, was controlled by the Nástup, an organization created in 1939. The Nástup was really the representative of the Reich Film Chamber in Slovakia.

Other propaganda media, such as the press and the theater, were not so fully exploited as in the Reich. But all personnel employed in the cultural fields had to belong to a professional organization headed by reliable Party men, and thus were controlled in the same fashion as in the Reich.

German influence manifested itself as much in the academic field as it did in propaganda. The German language was introduced as compulsory subject in the Slovak schools, and after 1942 no high-school diploma could be obtained without the knowledge of German. On the university level, German Slovak co-operation was closest. A cultural agreement concluded between the Reich and Slovakia on 1 May 1942 called for the exchange of students between German universities and the Bratislava University. A number of chairs at the

Bratislava University were occupied by German professors. A teachers' organization similar to the Lehrerbund was set up.

A German Slovak Society was created in order to develop "closer cultural ties between the two countries." In Slovakia numerous branches of this society were set up to serve as instruments of Germanization. In the Reich they served as organs of indoctrinations for Slovaks. The Slovak scientific society, Slovenska Matica, which existed long before 1938, also became an instrument of Germanization and was occupied with the translation of German literature. But possibly because its members consisted mostly of old-timers, who were in principle opposed to National Socialism, a new Slovak scientific academy was created in Bratislava to perform the tasks in which the Matica failed.

3. The Treatment of Jews

Soon after the declaration of Slovak independence anti-Jewish legislation was introduced. But the initial anti-Jewish legislation contained too many exempting clauses. It was based on religious rather than racial principles. Thus all Jews baptized before October 1918 were exempted from discrimination. Under German pressure, however, the Slovak anti-Jewish legislation gradually came to resemble the Reich's. The concept of Mischling (part-Jew) was introduced, and only a small number of Jews holding important economic positions and irreplaceable in view of the shortage of available experts received special dispensation. All anti-Jewish legislation issued up to December 1941 was compiled in a Codex which included 207 articles.

The systematic application of the anti-Jewish legislation was entrusted to the Central Economic Office created in 1940. The head of the office was directly responsible to the Prime Minister; he was charged with supervising the elimination of

Jews from economic life, Aryanization of property, and the control of the social and economic life of those Jews remaining in Slovakia.

Under the Central Economic Office a Central Jewish Office was created in which membership was compulsory for all Jews. It was supposed to be the only organ authorized to represent Jewish interests. Actually it served as a law-enforcing agency, for it was responsible to the Central Economic Office for the proper observance of its directives.

As a result of the German-inspired measures most Jews were eliminated from public life by 1942. In October of that year several collecting stations for dislocated persons were established. Jews who were eliminated from public life were shipped to those centers, where they were redistributed; some were sent to one of the five labor camps in Slovakia, others to the concentration camps in Poland. By 1943, of the one hundred thousand Jews who lived in Slovakia in 1938 only twenty thousand remained.

The popular opposition to Nazism among the people saved the lives and the property of some of the Jews, who were hidden, disguised, and fed by the people. The clamoring of Slovak Nazis for a complete eradication of Jews in Slovakia did not bring results, but in November 1944, following the occupation of Slovakia by the Wehrmacht, a new wave of persecutions was set in motion. The five thousand Jews allegedly still remaining in Bratislava were ordered to report by 20 November and were to be transported abroad, presumably to concentration camps. The fate of the Slovak Jews in the fall of 1944 resembled that suffered by the Hungarians a few months earlier.

4. Slovakia's Foreign Policies

Slovakia's foreign relations were carried out entirely

under the aegis of the Reich. In the diplomatic field, Slovakia joined the Tripartite Pact in 1940, the anti-Comintern pact on 25 November 1941. It exchanged representatives with all European satellites and with the neutral countries.1/ In fact, it was even recognized by Russia while the German Russian alliance lasted. In the military field Slovakia again followed the Reich. It declared war on Poland, Russia, and the United States, and units of the Slovak Army fought at the side of the Wehrmacht on the Eastern Front.2/

1/ The Slovak foreign representations did not always follow a pro-Nazi line. One of the most important Slovak representatives abroad was Karol Sidor, envoy at the Vatican. It was largely due to him that relations between the Vatican and Slovakia developed in the most cordial manner. Slovakia obtained a long-coveted archbishopic and four bishopries in addition to the three existing ones. Several members of two Slovak legations, in Switzerland and in Bulgaria, were dissident and declared their allegiance to the Czechoslovak Government-in-Exile in the fall of 1944.

2/ Despite the fact that the Slovak Army entered the war alongside the German and fought in Poland as well as Russia, it was no asset to the Wehrmacht. Slovak soldiers deserted en masse whenever they had a chance. At Kiev in 1943 an entire battalion deserted, and later at Odessa several units went over to the Russians. The Slovak units became so unreliable that they were withdrawn from the front to perform security duty in the rear areas. Finally, in the spring of 1944, all Slovak units were withdrawn from the Eastern Front, and one technical battalion (esentially a labor outfit) was sent to Italy, where many of its members managed to go over to the Allies.

5. Slovakia's Economic Policies

Because the Reich completely dominated Slovakia's economic life, it could exploit the industrial capacity of the country entirely to its own advantage. Economic relations between Germany and Slovakia were the closest possible. Seventy percent of Slovakia's exports went to the Reich. Trade relations were regulated by formal treaties, the first of which was concluded on 22 June 1939.1/ The detailed course of economic relations between the two countries was set by a joint commission which met once or twice a year in Vienna or Bratislava. The trade agreements, of course, favored the Reich, for Slovakia was compelled to pay for German imports in cash, while the German payments were either made in kind, consisting largely of machinery for which the Slovaks had often little use, or were charged against a clearing balance which grew constantly in Slovakia's favor but never brought any actual profit. In the spring of 1944 the clearing balance reached about RM. 500,000 in Slovakia's favor.

The rest of the Slovak exports were divided among Italy (until 1943), Switzerland, Hungary, Denmark, and Rumania. The exchange of goods with these countries was subject to the close scrutiny of the Germans.

1/ RGBl., 1939, II, 860.

G. THE TIGHTENING OF GERMAN CONTROL

From the foregoing brief survey of the development of the Slovak state between 1939 and 1944 it is evident that until the fall of 1944 the Germans attempted everything short of actual violence to dominate the country and its people, and, what is more, to lead it into the path of National Socialism. The inherent opposition of the people to National Socialism and its political and racial principles was an evident obstacle in the way of rapid Nazification. This became increasingly manifest as the years went by, but for a considerable period the Germans did not revert to measures more severe than diplomatic threats and pressure; they had committed themselves too strongly as the champions of a free Slovakia, and had given much too great a build-up to Slovakia as the "model satellite," to face the loss of prestige resulting from violence against the country.

On the other hand, for some time the Slovaks were satisfied with their status under German protection and seemingly cooperated with Germany, at least to some extent. Until 1941 they suffered little from the ravages of war. Actually, the population at large benefited considerably. The Germans subsidized industrial development, employment went up, the average income of the people increased. Because of the agricultural character of the country the people always had enough food, and no government measure with regard to compulsory delivery of foodstuffs could be enforced. Whether or not the Germans ultimately controlled all the actions of the government mattered little to the average Slovak, for on the local level all offices were run by Slovaks, and the government to all outward appearances acted in a sovereign capacity.

In 1941, however, conditions began to worsen. The war

against Russia meant the departure of numerous Slovak men. Many Slovaks could not understand the fight against a people which, although ideologically it was antipodal to Slovak political concepts, for sentimental reasons was close to the Slovak people's heart. Economic conditions also began to worsen, and German pressure made itself felt more severely.

With the approach of the Russian armies toward Slovakia, resistance to the Germans increased. But until the end of August 1944 no sizable German force was stationed in Slovakia. The Slovak Army alone was given the task of defending the country. When at the end of August the Germans decided to move troops into Slovakia, they met with armed opposition. The entire Slovak Army, consisting at that time of four divisions, joined in revolt a small group of partisans under the direction of a political body which included underground elements who had been active since 1939. The insurgent forces were led by a staff officer of the Slovak Army, Lieutenant Colonel Golian. They occupied a considerable territory in Central Slovakia and temporarily re-established Czechoslovak sovereignty there. The political leadership was in the hands of a National Council, composed of representatives of the former Czechoslovak parties.

To quell the revolt the Germans employed six divisions under the leadership of SS Obergruppenführer August Hoefle. After eight weeks of fighting they destroyed all but a very few of the insurgent forces.

As a result of the revolt the German Army established direct military control over all of Slovakia and thus by far exceeded the powers given to it by the provisions of the German-Slovak Treaty of 23 March 1939. Although this treaty was not revoked or rescinded, and thus remained the legal basis of German-Slovak relations, it was actually invalidated

through the actions of the Wehrmacht. Slovak government propaganda explained that the Germans were merely helping to re-establish the authority of the Slovak Government and did not come as conquerors. The German Army supported this statement by leaving the authority of the Slovak Government intact to all outward appearances. But German Army officers, together with SS officials under the direction of SS Obergruppenführer Gottlieb Berger, SS specialist on Balkan matters, organized the civil administration of, and supervised closely, all the actions of the Slovak officials and offices. The Gestapo set up headquarters in various Slovak towns. The Wehrmacht and the SS ruled supreme in Slovakia.

While the Germans were able to suppress the revolt, their policy in Slovakia had patently failed. As in the case of other satellite countries, in Slovakia too they had to resort to outright military occupation in order to prevent its defection from the German defense system.

Appendix I. THE SLOVAK-GERMAN TREATY OF 23 MARCH 1939

The German Government and the Slovak Government have agreed, after the Slovak State has placed itself under the protection of the German Reich, to regulate by treaty the consequences resulting from this fact. For this purpose the undersigned representatives of the two governments have agreed on the following provisions:

ARTICLE 1. The German Reich undertakes to protect the political independence of the State of Slovakia and the integrity of its territory.

ARTICLE 2. For the purpose of making effective the protection undertaken by the German Reich, the German armed forces shall have the right, at all times, to construct military installations and to keep them garrisoned in the strength they deem necessary, in an area delimited on its western side by the frontiers of the State of Slovakia, and on its eastern side by a line formed by the eastern rims of the Lower Carpathians, the White Carpathians and the Javornik Mountains.

The Government of Slovakia will take the necessary steps to assure that the land required for these installations shall be conveyed to the German armed forces. Furthermore the Government of Slovakia will agree to grant exemption from custom duties for imports from the Reich for the maintenance of the German troops and the supply of military installations.

Military sovereignty will be assumed by the German armed forces in the zone described in the preceding paragraph.

German citizens who, on the basis of private employment contracts, are engaged in the construction of military installations in the designated zone shall be subject to German jurisdiction.

ARTICLE 3. The Government of Slovakia will organize its military forces in close agreement with the German armed forces.

ARTICLE 4. In accordance with the relationship of protection agreed upon, the Government of Slovakia will at all times conduct its foreign affairs in close agreement with the German Government.

ARTICLE 5. This treaty shall become effective as of the date of its signature and shall be valid for a period of twenty-five years. The two governments will reach an understanding on the extension of this treaty in due time before the expiration of that period.

In witness whereof the representatives of the two parties have signed the above treaty in duplicate.

Vienna, March 18, 1939. Berlin, March 23, 1939.

For the German Government:
VON RIBBENTROP

For the Slovak Government:
DR. JOZEF TISO
DR. VOJTECH TUKA
DR. F. DURCANSKY

Appendix II. GERMAN AND SLOVAK GOVERNMENT, MILITARY, AND PARTY LEADERS

Reich German Government, Military, and Party Personnel

Envoy: Hans Ellard Ludin

Military Attaché: Lt. Col. Elger

Cultural Attaché: Pflueckert

Gestapo Representative: Franz Goltz

Commander of the Protected Zone: General Barlen

Chief of German Air Force Mission: Lt. Gen. Koiper

German Adviser in the Ministry of National Defense: General der Panzertruppen Alfred von Hubitzki

Leader of the NSDAP: Kurt Rudershausen

Volksdeutsche Party Leaders

Leader of Deutsche Partei: Franz Karmasin

Chief of Press and Propaganda: Carl Hauskrecht

Chief of Cultural Section: Hans Friedl

Leader of the German Women's Association: Nesl Chlup

Leader of the German Youth: Mathiass Lenhard

Slovak Government, Army, and Party Leaders

President of the State: Jozef Tiso

The Cabinet until September 1944:

Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs:	Vojtech Tuka
National Defense:	Ferdinand Catlos
Interior (and Deputy Prime Minister):	Sano Mach
Justice:	Gejza Fritz
Economy and Industry:	Gejza Medricky
Finance:	Mikulas Pruzinsky
Transport and Public Works:	Julius Stano
Education:	Josef Sivak

The Cabinet as Reorganized in September 1944:

Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Justice:	Stefan Tiso
National Defense:	Stefan Hassik
Interior:	Sano Mach
Economics and Industry:	Gejza Medricky
Finance:	Mikulas Pruzinsky
Transport and Public Works:	Ludovit Lednar
Education:	Aladar Kocis

Supreme Defense Council:	
Mikulas Pruzinsky	
Stefan Hassik	
Gojza Medricky	
Ludovit Lednar	
Stefan Ondruska	
Head of the Propaganda Office:	Tido Gaspar
Deputy Chief of the Propaganda Office:	Stefan Poliakovic
President of the State Council:	Viktor Ravasz
Speaker of the Parliament:	Martin Sokol
Head of the Supreme Supply Office:	Imrich Anton Karvas (replaced in September 1944 by Stefan Ondruska)
Governor of the National Bank:	Imrich Anton Karvas (replaced in September 1944 by Rudolf Kubis)
General of the Slovak Army:	Ferdinand Catlos
Commander of the Ground Forces:	General Turanec
Chief of Staff:	Lt. Col. Golian
Military Education and Civilian Anti-aircraft Protection:	Gen. Stefan Tatarko
Commander of the Gendarmerie:	Col. Timothy Istok
Commander of the State Security Service:	Otomar Kubala
Diplomatic Representatives:	
Croatia:	Viktor Becka
Germany:	Matus Cernak (replaced in September 1944 by Bohdan Galvanek)
Spain:	Jozef Cieker
Bulgaria:	Jozef Galvanek
Switzerland:	Jozef Kirschbaum
Rumania:	Ivan Milec
Sweden:	Bohus Fissko
Vatican:	Karol Sidor
Hungary:	Jan Spisiak
Serbia:	Jozef Tsiekar
Italy:	Jozef Zvrskovec
Vodca of the Party:	Tiso

The Party Executive:

Karol Mederly
Gejza Medricky
Julius Stano
Martin Sokol
Aladar Kocis

Secretary General of the Party: Jan Oplustil (appointed fall 1944)

Commander of the Hlinka Guard: Otomar Kubala

Leader of the Hlinka Youth: Alois Macek

Leader of the Slovak Labor Service: Alois Macek